

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LOME 728

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT--PARA ONE LINE TWELVE WORD ONE:
"LUSAKA" VICE "LONDON")

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR AMGT TO
SUBJ: MISSION GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN TOGO

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1. ACHIEVEMENT AND OPPORTUNITY: US-TOGOLESE RELATIONS
ARE ON THE UPSWING. TWO YEARS AGO, TOGO CONSIDERED THE
US ESSENTIALLY IRRELEVANT TO ITS MAJOR GOALS OF SECURITY
AND DEVELOPMENT, AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS EVEN HARBORED
UNFOUNDED SUSPICIONS THAT THE US MIGHT BE SUPPORTING ANTI-
EYADEMA PLOTTING. THIS HAS CHANGED. STARTING WITH ANGOLA,
INCREASED SOVIET INTERVENTION IN AFRICA INCLUDING A GROWING
BLOC PRESENCE IN NEIGHBORING BENIN HAS LED YEADAMA TO ATTACH
MORE VALUE TO TIES WITH THE WEST INCLUDING THE US. THE
TOGOLESE HAVE VIEWED FAVORABLY THE EVOLUTION OF US POLICY
TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA WHICH STARTED WITH KISSINGER'S
LUSAKA SPEECH AND CONTINUES WITH RENEWED MOMENTUM UNDER
THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS HAVE ALSO
IMPROVED BY SPECIFIC ACTIONS AND EVENTS:

--THE SIZE OF OUR ASSISTANCE PROGRAM HAS
INCREASED DUE TO THE MATURATION OF PROJECTS LONG IN THE
PIPELINE; SEVERAL NEW PROJECTS ARE UNDER STUDY.

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--WE WERE ABLE TO RESPOND TO A TOGOLESE REQUEST
FOR MEERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE IN THE SUMMER OF 1977.
--SHIP VISITS IN EARLY 1977 AND 78 AND A SHORT-
TERM TRAINING PROGRAM FOR TWO TOGOLESE ARMY OFFICERS,
THE FIRST SINCE INDEPENDENCE, HAVE SUBSTANTIALLY IMPROVED
OUR ACCESS TO THE POLITICALLY KEY MILITARY SECTOR.
--OUR WILLINGNESS TO TRANSMIT INTELLIGENCE

INFORMATION ABOUT A PLANNED ANTI-EYADEMA MERCENARY OPERATION WAS SINCERELY APPRECIATED.

--VISITS BY PROMINENT AMERICANS REV SULLIVAN AND CONGRESSMAN DIGGS HAVE GONE WELL.

THESE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS, REINFORCING ONGOING COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS, SUCH AS CULTURAL EXCHANGES, THE PEACE CORPS AND SELF-HELP, HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT A NEW EASE OF ACCESS TO TOGOLESE LEADERSHIP.

ON THE TOGOLESE SIDE, INITIATIVES IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA, EG RELEASING POLITICAL PRISONERS AND RECEIVING AN AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL VISIT, WERE TAKEN AT LEAST IN PART FOR THE CONSCIOUS PURPOSE OF REMOVING POSSIBLE RESTRAINTS ON BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE US.

THIS FAVORABLE CONJUNCTION IN BILATERAL RELATIONS PRESENTS THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSOLIDATE AND STABILIZE THEM, BUT WILL REQUIRE SOME ADDITIONAL EXPENDITURE OF US ENERGY AND RESOURCES. A MAJOR OBJECTIVE OF THIS MISSION IN THE UPCOMING PERIOD IS TO PROBE THE WILLINGNESS OF WASHINGTON TO MAKE THESE LIMITED COMMITMENTS, BEARING IN MIND TOGO IS NOT A TOP US PRIORITY AND ONLY OCCASIONALLY AND FLEETINGLY WILL HOLD THE ATTENTION OF TOP US OFFICIALS.

II. COURSES OF ACTION:

PERSONAL DIPLOMACY: PRESIDENT EYADEMA IS A LEADING CONFIDENTIAL

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EXPONENT OF AFRICAN-STYLE FACE-TO-FACE TALKS WITH OTHER HEADS OF STATE. HE IS PRESIDENT PRO TEMP OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ENTENTE AND OF THE ECOWAS HEADS OF STATE AUTHORITY AND AVICE PRESIDENT OF THE OAU. ASIDE FROM A SHORT MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR YOUNG AT FESTAC, HE HAS NEVER MET ANY AMERICAN LEADER. EYADEMA HAS ASKED TO BE RECEIVED IN AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE US. WE HAVE INFORMED THE GOT THAT THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE IN 1978 AND ARE EXPLORING THE WASHINGTON THE POSSIBILITIES FOR 1979. WE BELIEVE THAT OUR RELATIONS CANNOT DEVELOP MUCH BEYOND THEIR PRESENT STAGE UNTIL THIS STEP IS TAKEN. EYADEMA IS THE ONLY IMPORTANT DECISION-MAKER IN TOGO AND HE IS USED TO CONDUCTING PERSONAL DIPLOMACY. HE MEETS REGULARLY WITH TOP LEADERS OF FRANCE AND GERMANY, AND HAS PAID STATE VISITS ON SUCH DIVERSE WORLD FIGURES AS MAO, KIM IL SUNG AND TITO. HE HAS NEVER VISITED THE US IN HIS ELEVEN YEARS IN OFFICE, AND DURING THAT PERIOD HE HAS WATCHED NUMEROUS AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE RECEIVE THAT HONOR.

WE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SEE OCCASIONAL VISITS TO TOGO OF HIGH RANKING US OFFICIALS; IN THE PAST SUCH VISITS HAVE BEEN RARE AND THERE HAVE BEEN NONE IF THE 1970'S.

A MILITARY CONNECTION: WE WILL BE WORKING OUT WITH
TOGOLESE AUTHORITIES MODEST PROPOSALS IN THE MILITARY
TRAINING AREA. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO PRACTICE OF REGULAR
US NAVAL VISITS AT THE RHYTHM OF ONE PER YEAR.
WE INTEND TO EXPLORE WITH WASHINGTON THE REMOVAL OF LEGAL
OBSTACLES TO FMS PROGRAMS; THESE OBSTACLES ARE A
HISTORICAL ANOMALLY WHICH HAVE MORE SYMBOLIC THAN PRACTICAL
IMPORTANCE. THEIR REMOVAL WOULD BE A LOW COST CONTRIBUTION
TO BETTER RELATIONS. THE ABOVE STEPS ARE INTENDED TO ESTABLISH
A REGULAR PATTERN OF COOPERATION WITH THE TOGOLESE MILITARY;
WHICH PROVIDES KEY SUPPORT TO THE PRESENT REGIME AND IS THE
MOST LIKELY SOURCE OF A SUCCESSOR OR ALTERNATIVE TO PRESIDENT
EYADEMA.
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ACTION AF-10

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LOME 728

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPER AMGT TO
SUBJ: MISSION GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN TOGO

DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE: THE EMBASSY HAS SET AS A
GOAL THE TRANSFER OF DEVELOPMENT AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE
RESOURCES AT A RATE OF UPWARD OF \$5 MILLION ANNUALLY. (NEW
OBLIGATIONS IN FY77 WERE \$3.7 MILLION INCLUDING A \$1.6
MILLION EMERGENCY FOOD PROGRAM.) WE BELIEVE SUCH A LEVEL
OF TRANSFERS IS NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH US AS A RELIABLE
PARTNER IN TOGO'S DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS. WASHINGTON HAS

SAID IT INTENDS TO TAKE INTO FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION TOGO'S FORWARD STEPS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA IN FUTURE AID PROGRAMMING. WE WILL BE EXPLORING WITH AID AND THE DEPARTMENT THE STAFFING INCREASES NEEDED TO DESIGN AND MANAGE A HIGHER LEVEL OF ASSISTANCE ACTIVITY.

ON-GOING PROGRAMS: A NATURAL EVOLUTION OF THE PEACE CORPS AWAY FROM TEFL WILL PROBABLY LEAD TO SOME LOWERING IN THE PRESENT LEVEL OF 100 PCVS IN TOGO. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT A MODEST REDUCTION WILL ADVERSELY REFLECT ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THIS WELL-RECEIVED PROGRAM. USIS PROGRAMMING SHOULD CONTINUE AT ABOUT THE PRESENT LEVEL, ALTHOUGH THE NUMBER OF IV GRANTS COULD USEFULLY BE INCREASED FROM SIX TO TEN OR TWELVE. THE SELF-HELP PROGRAM IS HIGHLY COST EFFECTIVE AND HAS MADE A SUBSTANTIAL

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CONTRIBUTION OVER THE YEARS TO IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN RURAL TOGO BY BUILDING SCHOOLS, DISPENSARIES, DIGGING WELLS, ETC. WE COULD HANDLE EFFECTIVELY TWICE THE PRESENT FUNDING, OR \$200,000 PER YEAR. (THROUGH SELF-HELP THE US AND GOT HAVE BUILT MORE SCHOOLS SINCE INDEPENDENCE THAN THE FRENCH BUILT BETWEEN 1918 AND 1960.)

MULTILATERAL RELATIONS: OUR BETTER RELATIONS WITH TOGO MAY ON OCCASION GIVE US SOME LEVERAGE ON THE TOGOLESE POSITIONS IN MULTILATERAL ISSUES. WE CANNOT EXPECT MIRACLES; ON MANY ISSUES TOGO'S POSITION WILL CONTINUE TO REFLECT ITS THIRD WORLDISM AND NON-ALIGNMENT. BUT THE EMBASSY WILL BE ALERT TO OPPORTUNITIES TO INFLUENCE TOGO TOWARDS A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE AND MODERATE POSITION IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS.

III. PROJECTED DEVELOPMENTS: BARRING THE VICTORY OF THE FRENCH LEFT IN THIS MONTH'S LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS--AN EVENT WHICH COULD HAVE SERIOUS, BUT LARGELY UNPREDICTABLE REPERCUSSIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL ORIENTATION OF THE MODERATE FRANCOPHONE AFRICAN STATES--PROJECTED DEVELOPMENTS OVER THE NEXT TWO YEARS ARE UNLIKELY TO DISTURB THE COURSE OF US-TOGOLESE RELATIONS. PRESUMABLY THE SOVIET UNION WILL CONTINUE ITS ACTIVITIST AFRICAN POLICY AND IN REACTION EYADEMA WILL WISH TO MAINTAIN GOOD TIES WITH THE WEST. OUR RELUCTANCE TO INVOLVE OURSELVES IN DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH THE SOVIETS IN AFRICA WILL ON OCCASION CAUSE DISAPPOINTMENT, BUT NOT A FUNDAMENTAL REASSESSMENT OF TOGO'S FOREIGN POLICY. WE ARE AWARE THAT TOGOLESE EXPECTATIONS OF CONCRETE BENEFITS FROM IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH US MAY OUT RUN OUR ABILITY TO FOCUS ON AND RESPOND TO TOGO'S CONCERNS GIVEN OUR OTHER PRIORITIES. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT, WHILE TOGO MAY

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ON OCCASION BE DISAPPOINTED WITH OUR RESPONSES, OUR
OVERALL RELATIONS CAN BE MANAGED SO THAT TOGOLESE
DISAPPOINTMENT WILL NOT TURN INTO RESENTMENT OR BRING
ABOUT A RENEWED CHILLINESS IN OUR RELATIONS. MOREOVER,
THE MISSION IS OPTIMISTIC THAT WASHINGTON CAN BE
PERSUADED TO MAKE THE MODEST EXPENDITURES OF RESOURCES
AND EFFORT PROPOSED ABOVE UNDER COURSES OF ACTION AND
SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSOLIDATE THE RECENT GAINS
IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THIS SMALL BUT INFLUENTIAL COUNTRY.
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